

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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LONDON, SATURDAY, JULY 4. 1807.

[PRICE 10D.

Let all my Sons all Party fling aside,
Despise their nonsense and together join.
On Virtue can alone my kingdom stand;
On Public Virtue, every Virtue join'd:
For lost this social cement of mankind,
The greatest empires, by scarce-felt degrees,
Will moulder soft away; till tottering loose,
They prone at last to total ruin rush.
Unblest by Virtue, Government a League
Becomes, a circling Junto of the Great,

To rob by law; Religion mild a yoke
To tame the stooping soul, a trick of state
To mask their rapine, and to share their prey:
What are without ~~it~~ Senates, save a face
Of consultation deep, and reason free,
While the determine! voice and heart are sold?
What boasted Freedom, save a sounding name?
And what Elections, but a market vile
Of slaves self-bartered?

THOMPSON'S LIBERTY.

1]

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SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—On Monday last, the 29th of June, the chairing of Sir Francis Burdett, as one of the members for this the first city in the kingdom, took place. As I look upon this event as the memorable sign of an æra in politics, I am not a little pleased that the history of it will thus stand at the head of a new volume of this work, the history of the election itself having been given in the preceding volume.—The procession took place according to the order, which had been published some days before, and which was as follows.

Marrowbones and Cleavers, four and four.

Four Trumpets on Horseback.

Two large Flags used during the Election.

Three small ditto.

Ditto, ditto, ditto.

High Constable on Horseback.

Nine Assistants, three and three.

One large dark Blue Flag—Motto,

“ BURDETT AND OUR COUNTRY.”

Band of Music, three and three.

Three Bugle Boys on Horseback with small Blue Flags,

the Majority painted thereon.

Large White Flag carried on Horseback—Motto,
“ PURITY OF ELECTION.”

1. Flag of St. Anne's Parish.

Electors, four and four.

2. Flag of St. Paul, Covent Garden, and St. Martin Le Grand.

Electors, four and four.

3. Flag of St. Clement Danes and St. Mary Le Strand.

Electors, four and four.

4. Flag of St. Martin in the Fields.

Electors, four and four.

5. Flag of St. James.

Electors, four and four.

6. Flag of St. George, Hanover Square.

Electors, four and four.

7. Flag of St. Margaret and St. John.

Electors, four and four.

Large dark Blue Flag—Motto,

“ BURDETT THE CHOICE OF THE PEOPLE.”

Band of Music, three and three.

Large dark Blue Flag—Motto,

“ COMMITTEE” on one side, “ PURITY OF
ELECTION” on the other.

COMMITTEE, three and three;

Chairman to bring up the Rear.

Large Sky Blue Banner—Motto,
“ THE CONSTITUTION.”

Mr. JENNINGS supported by Messrs. GLOSSOP
and ADAMS.

Large dark Blue Banner—Motto,
“ THE TRIUMPH OF WESTMINSTER.”

SIR FRANCIS BURDETT

In a Grand Car, drawn by four Grey horses.

Small dark Blue Banner—Motto,

“ THE SENSE OF THE PEOPLE.”

Horsemen, four and four.

Carriages to close.

The concourse of people was, of course, immense in all the streets and squares, through which the procession passed before it came to Sir Francis Burdett's house, where the whole of Piccadilly was found ready filled in such a manner as to render it extremely difficult to make a way through. Sir Francis, who is still scarcely able to move about, even with the aid of crutches, was carried to the car by two gentlemen. Until now there had been very little huzzaing; but, the moment the Baronet's head became visible above the crowd, the air rang with a shout, in which, had the king been in town, he would have heard “ the sense of his people,” of that people whom it had been attempted to blind and to mislead by a hypocritical cry of “ no popery.” In this shout he might have heard the sound of that voice which he will, 'ere long, hear from all his subjects, the voice of love and admiration of those who are the real friends of the country, and of indignation at those who are its real enemies, and who, while it is threatened with such terrible dangers from without, are, for the gratification of their own selfish views, tearing it to pieces

— All the streets, through which the procession had to pass, were crowded so as to leave not a foot of vacant ground. The hackney and other coaches, the carts and all sorts of wheel-carriages were placed on each side of the streets, filled and covered with spectators. Every window was full.

Some were taken out for the purpose, and where they were large, as in the case of shop windows, in the wide streets, there were benches erected for people to sit behind one another as in a theatre. Where the balconies were broad, benches were erected in a similar manner. All the parapets and the flats, upon the houses, were covered as completely as the streets below; and, upon the gutters and the ridges of the houses, and even upon the chimneys, numerous spectators were seen. When we arrived at Covent Garden we found all the low buildings in the middle of the square so loaded with people that the chimney tops were hidden from our view; hundreds were sitting or standing upon the roofs and ridges of the houses round the square, and, upon a moderate computation, there could not be less than a hundred thousand persons, who here saw the procession at one and the same time.—It was half past two o'clock when Sir Francis ascended the car, and exactly five when he alighted at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand. At seeing, during the whole of this procession, his colours streaming from the houses; at hearing the air resound with blessings upon his head, while that sex whose voices could not be heard testified their union of sentiment by the waving of their handkerchiefs or by the scattering of flowers and laurels as he passed; during these hours, what must have been his reflections, if reflection was not banished by feeling? He must have reflected, that it was a triumph over every public vice that had so long been warring against him and against his country; and must have formed a resolution, never to be shaken, to devote his life to the happiness of a people, who placed such implicit confidence in him, and who, for his bare endeavours to recover their rights and their honour, repaid him with marks of gratitude unparalleled.—THE DINNER, tickets of admission to which were twelve shillings each, as high a price as that given by the out faction at Lord Milton's dinner, was attended by about 2,000 persons, which number would have been greatly increased, if there had remained room in any part of the house. In the great room, the space between the several tables were filled with persons, who were content to take their dinner standing. After the cloth was removed the following toasts were given by MR. JENNINGS from the chair,

1. The King, the Constitution, the whole Constitution, and nothing but the Constitution.

2. The People.

3. Purity of Election; and may the elec-

tors of the whole kingdom take a lesson from Westminster school.

Previous to the drinking of Sir Francis Burdett's health, the Chairman rose and observed, "that there were many who had before attended at this place on great public questions, but he was confident that there was not one who had ever come to any assembly on any occasion so important as the present, on one which if improved by the virtue, the courage and perseverance of the people, would lead to such beneficial results, to the best interest of the country. If the great example set by the Electors of Westminster be followed throughout the kingdom, the House of Commons would soon be restored to its old office in the government. The right of election was not a mere matter of form. He always conceived it to be the most valuable appendage, the best franchise of an Englishman. It was given to him for the purpose of maintaining his proper consequence in the state, and controlling the conduct of weak or wicked ministers, particularly whenever they form a conspiracy against popular rights. It is a privilege infinitely dear to us, and ought not to be sacrificed for any mean and sordid consideration. The value, however, and the security, of the right of election, must depend upon the virtue and courage of the people; without which it could be of no avail. The great men, said Mr. J. who reared the immortal fabric of the British constitution, who obtained for you this invaluable right, hoped that you would have good sense and spirit enough to support and defend it. That hope, so far as regards you, has not been disappointed. For the Electors of Westminster have had integrity and fortitude sufficient to repel all the arts of corruption, and all the menaces of power, and the result is, that you on this day meet to celebrate the most signal triumph achieved by liberty and the people for more than a century past. The Electors of Westminster have obtained such a victory as must serve to give additional eminence to the principles upon which the great object of that victory rests. By such victories, which I hope will be often repeated, the people of England can alone succeed in securing such a House of Commons as they ought to have—such a one as is necessary to perform the functions which the constitution assigns to that Assembly—such a one as would be able and willing to control a weak or wicked administration. Let these victories be repeated, and the constitution

“ will be brought back to the good old principles on which it was founded. The people will recover back their importance in the state given by the laws, and those mischievous and profligate knots and cabals, who conspire together to sell at the highest price their associated iniquities will be broken up and disband. Among the evils resulting from the present system is this, that any man who exhorts the people to think for themselves, to consult their own interest—that attempts to speak the truth, is sure to have the most atrocious and virulent abuse directed against him.—Indeed, while such a man continues to vindicate the interests of the people, those who prey upon them will continue to slander him—until he ceases to be active, they will not cease to be hostile; but their hostility is contemptible. This proud day must serve to shew the calumniators, that their envenomed scurrility is of no avail. These calumniators and their employers wish to prevent the people from knowing the truth. They consider and treat them as tyrants do their miserable captives confined in dungeons and in darkness, they fear and justly fear that if the light should break in upon them, their first motion would be to look at their fetters, and the next to examine where they might be broken. The man whom you have just elected to represent you has been long the object of calumny, among these conspirators and their instruments, because he has deserved the praise of honest men. He has received the abuse of all the parties, who, under the pretence of public good, have sought their own selfish views, whose best recommendation to power has been the readiness they have exhibited to basely merchandize and traffick with their duties. I hope that the distinction which you have conferred and the judgment you have manifested in this instance, will serve to shew the principle upon which the people act; that as you have selected a man as the object of your choice, upon the recommendation of his character, other men may learn from the example, that they may promise themselves the same popular support, by practising the same virtues. It would be of the highest importance, if no other benefit resulted from the triumph we are met to celebrate, than the lesson it teaches to public men, that if they wish for the confidence of the people, they must deserve it. The people will never be faithfully and firmly served until members of parliament, taught by this

“ great lesson, no longer insensible to their pride and their duty, will cultivate those qualities which can alone secure to them the affection, the good opinion, and support of their fellow citizens.” Mr. Jennings concluded with proposing

4. The health of that honest and incorruptible representative of the people, Sir Francis Burdett.

Upon his health being drunk, Sir Francis addressed the company in nearly the following words.

“ Gentlemen, it is quite impossible for me to express in adequate terms the sense I feel of the affectionate manner in which you have been so good as to compliment me.—Your confidence in my public principles, and in the sincerity of my professions, has called me, when I least expected it, from the retirement I had chosen. I have but small hope, that any weak endeavours of mine will be able to benefit my country; because the choice of a new House of Commons is not what it ought to be, and what it is hypocritically pretended to be—an *appeal to the sense of the people*.—In November last, the then ministry, by an unusual dissolution of parliament, affected to appeal to the *sense of the people*. And this sense of the people, immediately consented to drive themselves from the first floor to the garret, and to beggar their posterity, by confirming to the ministry, a yearly tenth of all the income and profits of the property and industry of the whole nation, together with an additional ten per cent. upon the already enormous assessed taxes.

—Only six months afterwards, another set of men, the present ministry, follow the example of the last set, and affect in their turn, by another dissolution of parliament, to appeal likewise again to the *sense of the people*. What this last taken sense of the people will produce it is easy to foresee, and we shall soon experience.—Gentlemen, they both of them laugh at the people—they despise the people—and those who have robbed us most, have justly the most contempt for us. It is the common cant of both parties to deny that there is any such thing as *the people*—and they insultingly ask us, where such a thing as the people is to be found in England?—I can now answer their question—in Westminster—in the metropolis of England. And, if the corrupt and mercenary factions shall see the other inhabitants of England act firmly and perseveringly like a people, they will quickly acknowledge them to be such—and those who now

“ tread oppressively upon their necks will be found humble at their feet.—I cannot, Gentlemen, go back to my place at the table, without returning my sincere thanks to the electors of Westminster, for the honour they have conferred upon me; assuring them that my whole life shall be devoted to their service.” Sir Francis concluded by giving

5. The Electors of Westminster.

The chairman then gave

6. The 5134 Electors who so nobly stood forward to assert their own Rights, and to excite the People of England to assert theirs.

7. Those electors of Bristol, who on the 2d of June, with Mr. H. HUNT, at their head, assembled to celebrate the return of Sir Francis Burdett.

8. May the ineffectiveness of THE REGIMENT be speedily disbanded, and the RED BOOK reduced to its proper dimensions.

After a song, in which allusions were made to the practices of Greece, MR. FREND rose and made a short speech as nearly as can be recollected in the following words: “ Gentlemen, I should not have presumed to address you, nor should I have thought it right to call upon your attention, if the object of my rising could with propriety have been proposed from the chair. But, as I have now so far engaged your attention, I shall trespass upon it; and I hope meet with some indulgence, notwithstanding the allusions in the excellent song, which we have just heard. If I do allude to the Grecians, modern times have afforded frequent instances of the same example; and the game of ancient days admits of variations. I mean to speak to you of an old Greek game, played to the amusement of many of the courts of Italy. There it was not unusual for a splendid court to be seated in grand form, to witness what was to them a very pleasing and agreeable kind of combat. Two parties, dressed out in different colours, took their station at the opposite ends of a bridge: such a one is at Pisa, the last place, I believe, where the game has been played with any great effect. The business of the parties is to endeavour to get at the top of the bridge, to drive their adversaries before them, and to keep possession in spite of repeated attacks. Each party is armed with poles, stuffed at the end that they may not hurt one another, but sufficiently strong to drive an opponent forwards, and not unfrequently into the river. Then the court sets up a great laugh; the ladies titter; the courtiers are delighted. On each side you may see dukes, marquises,

“ counts, and cavaliers, tumbling into the stream; exhibiting strange grimaces when they come to the top of the water; calling out to the bystanders on the banks for assistance; whilst the party on the top of the bridge are rending the air with shouts of triumph, parading in their places with all the pride of victory, and receiving various rewards from the sovereign, who is looking on from an adjoining balcony.—You cannot conceive, Gentlemen, the delight which a game of this kind gave to a court in Italy, and to those of the populace, who could get a sight of it as they stood on the banks of the river. But what you would most admire is the small expence, at which this game is played. For five thousand sequins the expences of both parties are defrayed; their dresses; their poles; their ribbands; and all their honours and rewards. Much depends in this game on the goodness of the leader; on his knowing his men, and their attachment to him. To be at the top of the bridge secures to the leader of one party unbounded applause, whilst the leader of the other band skulks about at a distance, complaining most bitterly, sometimes at court, and sometimes among the populace, just as it may happen, of unfair play.—This beautiful, this delightful game, Gentlemen, is played on the bridge of Pisa, at no greater expence than five thousand sequins. In another country that sum would not procure a deputy leader of the band; and in our own country this beautiful, this delightful game is played at the expence of as many millions. Yes! Gentlemen, you are all witnesses to a similar game, though it may not afford you so much amusement, as the bridge of Pisa does to the noble and royal spectators of Italy. The Ins and the Outs, Gentlemen, for by this name they are called, are our combatants: but this day has given a fearful apprehension to both parties, that another is likely to start, that may choose to have some share in the game.—Indeed, if it was so delightful at Pisa to see first one party, then the other, tumbling into the stream, do you not think, that they would have been in raptures to see, during the height of the conflict, a third party unexpectedly rising, and driving both the others into the river? Which would have laughed most on this occasion, the court or the populace? That the game had been greatly improved, all, I am persuaded, would acknowledge. The game in its old form was played last Friday, and was kept up from five in the after-

“ noon to past six in the morning: it is to be renewed again, I understand, next Monday; and notice is given for another trial of strength in about a fortnight after. The combatants will push at each other: and throw each other down; and triumph over each other; and complain some of them most bitterly; and what will after all be the result of the wordy conflict? The defeated combatants will retire to their country seats, to refresh themselves after their fatigues, and to prepare for another attack; when they will not fail to put forth all their strength to drive off their adversaries from the places they held on the top of the bridge.— But this day, Gentlemen, has put a new face on the game. The nobodys—the nothings—the men, who according to the apprehension of the rival combatants, have no stake in the country—the men, who are fit for nothing but to find the poles for the game, or to make their bodies steps for a combatant to get to the bridge without soiling his shoes—these men are found at last to be something. Yes, Gentlemen, when we consider the order and regularity of this day's procession; the myriads that hailed its progress; the blaze of beauty, which from every window beamed propitiously on the beloved object of this day's solemnity; we may be assured, that it has read a lesson, which the rival parties will make the subject of the deepest meditation. A third party is now, they will be persuaded, formed: and this third party is the Public. The public cannot be satisfied with childrens play; the bandying merely of words; the idle contest of which is to be at the top of the bridge.—It is time, Gentlemen, to get rid of words and terms, which have too long been bandied about in our history. Whigs and Tories have had their day: they are gone by: may they both be forgotten forever! For, though I acknowledge, that the principles of the Whigs are deeply fixed in my breast; yet the persons professing them, have been so mixed with those of the other party, and have so frittered down those principles, that the name only remains; the substance is lost. But, if the name of Whig is to be retained, and we are to be classed under that denomination, a distinction should be made, and the high and the low Whigs should be separated from each other. Let the high class, the aristocratical Whig, aim at a post on the top of the bridge: we, the low Whigs, will be contented with our stations at the foot: but, we demand,

“ and shall not rest till our demands are complied with, that the public may be attended to, and that to the public its just and legal rights be restored.—Gentlemen, the Aristocratical Whig may, if he pleases, stigmatize us with the name of Democrats: he may upbraid us in any manner he pleases, because we are for measures not for men. The man of our choice is he, who will pursue those measures only, which are founded on the constitution of our country: who will not make them the stalking horse to get into power, but will steadily pursue the strait path, which is pointed out by the good of the country, and the constitutional landmarks fixed by our ancestors. The public demands, and has a right to demand, that such men only should deliver their sentiments in parliament, and for this reason the claim is just, and reasonable, and must be approved of by all honest men, that the House of Commons be purged of its placemen and pensioners; that its members be the representatives of the public, not the choice of a few private individuals; that parliaments be frequent, so that the members may not lose sight of their duty to their constituents; and thus, that all parties may co-operate in a zealous attachment to the true interest of their king and their country.—Gentlemen, I will detain you no longer. This day will be long remembered; and, when you reflect on the nature of the election, which has been crowned with so noble a triumph, you will, I am convinced, always bear in mind the exertions of the committee, by which it was so well conducted, and applaud the choice they made of my worthy friend in the chair, to speak their sentiments on the Hustings. The manner in which he performed that task, will ever be glorious to him. It commanded the admiration of his enemies, and secured to him that approbation from the public, which he had long enjoyed among those to whom he was more intimately known. I am sure that the toast I am to give will be received with universal applause, and for that purpose I need only name to you the health of Mr. Jennings, our worthy chairman.”

This speech of MR. FREND was received with applause proportioned to its excellence. The company, as he proceeded, applied every part of his description, and *the battles of the bridge* will now serve as an apt figure, whereby to point out battles, in which we are much more nearly concerned.—Mr. Frend gave

9. Mr. Jennings, our worthy chairman.

Mr. Jennings, whose modesty appears to be equal to his merit, expressed his satisfaction at being thought worthy of a mark of respect from the electors of Westminster, but added, that that satisfaction would be greatly diminished, were he not convinced that the success, this day celebrated, was the effect of no talents or exertions on his part, but purely that of the public spirit of the people. He then gave, as the last toast,

10. The election committee.

Which being drunk, Mr. Stirch, one of the committee, rose, and in a very sensible and even elegant speech, returned thanks in the name of the committee, and made some observations relating to the business of the day, which produced not the less effect because they came from an honest, plain tradesman. Indeed, the conduct of the whole of this committee, from the beginning to the end, has been such as to merit the praise of every good man in the city. They have, in all their proceedings, been at once resolute and mild. There has no where, amongst them, appeared any thing like selfishness or vanity; and, what is particularly commendable, they have acted towards Sir Francis Burdett personally with as much respect and deference as if they had had no hand whatever in causing him to be elected. They have, in no case, attempted to dictate to him, or to intrude their advice upon him; but, like the people at large, for whom, in this instance, they have acted, they have taken his character as ample security for his conduct.

This day, so glorious to Westminster, and so auspicious an omen for the people of England in general, was, however, a day of cruel disappointment to our enemies, who were anticipating hitherto unheard-of follies and acts of violence. Here and there, during our procession, one of their half-hidden faces was seen scowling upon us, with a grin like that which Milton gives to the devil, when, from behind a thicket, he beheld the yet unbittered happiness of our first parents. They seemed to wet their fangs against the hour of vengeance, and to exult in the idea of seeing the streets stream with our blood. But, as if Satan himself had deserted them, there was not to be found one single man, woman, or child so to act as to afford gratification to their diabolical malice, or to give countenance to the slanderous assertion, that Sir Francis Burdett had been chosen by a rabble. Yes, to the great disappointment and mortification, to the utter confusion of these base and malignant slaves, who hate us only because they have robbed and are robbing us, not a single act of violence was committed; not a single attempt to excite

an uproar was made, there was no mob at any time or anywhere assembled, and not even a single accident occurred. The vile hireling *Morning Post*, though it had done all in its power to provoke popular fury; though it had so basely and outrageously calumniated Sir Francis Burdett and the people of Westminster; though it had sought to inflame the people by hiring men at three shillings a day to write "*down with the Morning Post*" against the walls; notwithstanding all these endeavours to become an object of popular vengeance, it was not able to obtain the breaking of one of its windows; nor was there, in the whole city, a single pane of glass broken. Those who chose to illuminate their houses, did so, those who did not choose to do it, remained undisturbed in the gloom of their discontent. There was no gin-treated rabble, headed by official ruffians, conscious of impunity, to demolish people's houses unless they put on the face of joy. It was the triumph of the real people of Westminster, resolved to be free themselves, and scorning the thought of violating the freedom of others.—This being the case, there was, of course, no great necessity for *troops* and *artillery*. Yet did the unparalleled foresight and precaution of our royal Commander in Chief make ample provision of both. The different guards about the palace and also about the offices at Whitehall were doubled, and supplied well with ball-cartridges. The several regiments were drawn out in the morning and kept under arms. A great body of the horse artillery corps was kept ready harnessed in St. James's park, to draw the cannons, if, *unhappily*, it should be found requisite. The volunteer corps were summoned to muster, and for what purpose may be gathered from the following orders of two of the corps, of which I have obtained a copy.

"*St. James's Westminster, Loyal Volunteers. Regimental Orders, 27th June, 1807.*—You are requested to attend parade at Dufour's Place, in uniform, on Monday evening next, at six o'clock— and to hold yourself in readiness to attend, if summoned for that purpose, from four o'clock.—AMHERST, Colonel."

—The other is an order in terms rather more explicit. It shews us, also, that those vigilant persons, the police magistrates, were not idle, though they, doubtless to their great satisfaction, were not, upon this occasion, called forth to make any extraordinary exertions for the most ample salaries that the people pay them.—"A. G. V." (These are, I suppose, the initials of the name of the corps.) "Having received a

“ requisition, from the magistrates at the Public Office, Hatton-Garden, for the regiment under my command to hold itself in readiness *to assist the civil power in preserving the peace, on Monday next, the 29th instant*, and to continue upon duty until such time in the evening as they may with safety be dismissed by the magistrates, the regiment will therefore assemble, on parade, at four o'clock in the afternoon of that day precisely, with FIXED FLINTS. And it is expected, for the honour of the regiment, that, upon an occasion when *its services* may be of REAL utility, no member will on any account absent himself.—W. READER, L. C. C.—Orderly Room, June 26, 1807.”—So, this is the REAL utility of the volunteer corps, is it? It is well enough to be apprized of this. It must have been a source of great gratification to William Reader, Lieutenant Colonel Commandant, to find that his “ FIXED FLINTS” were not necessary, and that, upon this occasion, there was no need of putting the honour of the corps to the test. And, how happy, how beyond measure happy, must volunteer colonel Lord Amherst have been on Monday night to find, that his precaution was super-abundant, and that the people, *from the fruit of whose labour he annually receives a very large pension*, could chair their representative, legally and virtuously chosen, and return to their houses, without requiring to be shot at!—But, how great, how exquisite, must then have been the happiness of the Duke of York, whose tender, whose almost more than motherly care of the lives of all the king's subjects, has, upon every occasion of danger, been so conspicuous! The ground, in which my habitation stands, consists of about three acres, the greater part of which is in grass. In this grass, and at about forty yards from my door, a skylark chose as the place to build her nest. Never having before seen one of these naturally shy birds fix its breeding place so near to a house, and having been so much delighted with the singing of the old bird, we delayed the mowing of the grass a little longer than we otherwise should have done, in order to give the young birds time to get fledged. When we saw them out of the nest, the mower was set to work; but, not without some fear as to the fate of the brood, I requested him to begin at the part most distant from the nest; but, (and the fact is a very curious one) my fears were soon completely removed; for he had not cut the third swath, when the old larks, skimming up in the air, taking a turn over his head, and

perceiving whereunto his operations tended, flew back in great haste, carefully collected their young ones all together upon a little mound, and, having so done, they gave me a farewell chirrup, and away they flew into my neighbour's field.—“ There!” said I to myself, “ is an instance of tenderness and of foresight of danger, equalled only by our consummate Commander in Chief! ”—How happy, then, must that royal person have felt on Monday night, upon finding that there was no need for those precautions, which he had so laudably taken, and that the several corps of troops had nothing to do but to go back quietly to their barracks, and return their ammunition into the magazines, there to be kept until wanted to kill those bloody-minded villains, the French, who, were they to become masters of our country, would, doubtless, establish an accursed military despotism, in order to be able to plunder us with impunity!—No. There was no need of troops. When the king used to go to the House of Lords, there were an abundance of troops, of constables, and of thief-takers. The same were seen at the proclaiming of the peace of Amiens. Troops are, it seems, sometimes called in at the Opera-House. Troops, we are told, were stationed, the other evening, at the Marquis of Abercorn's ball, in order to preserve tranquillity. Muskets and bayonets are become of great vogue; but, they were not wanted on Monday. Two thousand people could dine with Sir Francis Burdett without muskets and bayonets to preserve tranquillity, and I saw, on Monday last, what it must have grated the hearts of our enemies to have seen, *half a million* of English people assembled, and I saw not so much as a constable's staff! And yet our miscreant enemies call us Jacobins and Levellers, leading a deluded mob!—It is useless to say more upon this subject at present than merely this, that these our enemies, and the enemies of our country will be convinced, in due time, that all their calumnies, their curses, and their infamous endeavours of another sort, will avail them nothing.

SIR HENRY MILDAY.—To begin recording the *Proceedings in Parliament* I shall not be able in the present sheet. Observations, therefore, upon the king's speech, and upon the two famous quarrelling debates about places, pensions, and jobs, as also upon the motion of Col. Cochrane Johnstone, relative to the situation of the soldiers in the West Indies, and the notified motion of Lord Cochrane, respecting places, sinecures, and pensions, held by members of the House of Commons, must be postponed till my next. But, I cannot put

off what I think it proper to say about the *Moulsham* contract. On Monday last, on the very day, and at the very hour, when the people were chairing the man whom they so much look up to as the enemy of a wasteful expenditure of the public money, Sir Henry Mildmay and Mr. Sturges were endeavouring to defend themselves in the House of Commons. Sir Henry moved for the producing before the House of a *memorial*, which, it seems, he, *since the exposure of the affair*, has presented to the Military Commissioners, upon whose report, it will be recollect, the newspaper exposures were founded. What was his real reason for so long a delay in making this *memorial* I shall leave the reader to judge, and I will take the Baronet's *defence*, just as I find it reported most at length in the newspapers.

—“Sir H. Mildmay rose, to give an explanation of some circumstances, which had caused much unmerited obloquy to be cast upon him. He did not wish to conceal the state of anxiety in which he was. But that anxiety arose from a fear, lest his abilities should not be sufficiently adequate to the task; and lest the feelings of one, little accustomed to calumny, should render him incapable of giving a full explanation. That transaction was the only one he had ever had with government, or ever would have if he could help it.—

“This fourth report (he had his hand on it) had been *perverted* for the purpose of casting aspersions on him; and it had been said, that he had received undue favours from government, and had taken an undue advantage of the public. That charge was *most false and unfounded*; but he did not think himself called upon to answer *anonymous aspersions*, and had therefore waited with patience till the meeting of parliament gave him an opportunity of *justifying* himself. He felt that this explanation was due to the house, to himself, and to the *constitution*, but particularly to the administration of Mr. Addington (Lord Sidmouth), during which the transaction had commenced; and more particularly still to one of the lords of the Treasury (Mr. S. Bourne), who at one period of the affair had been secretary of the Treasury, which had exposed him, as well as himself, to a great deal of unjust calumny.—In 1795, he had come into the possession of a large estate in Essex, on which he was obliged to reside three months in the year. The works began to be erected in 1803. During the time he resided there about 1500 people were engaged in them, which certainly did not render the residence the most desirable.

“All his tangible property on the outside of the house was in danger, and his family not very comfortable; but he still resided there till nine nights out of ten, footpad robberies were committed in the fields near his house. He then thought that he had some claim to relief by law from the residence, and applied to Mr. Addington's administration for that purpose. He then was directed to apply to Mr. Vansittart, and obtained what he wanted. But the bill went only to relieve him for four years, and he was actually obliged to return to the place with all its inconveniences on the 24th of June next. If this was a job, it was singular that the administration should have *jobbed against themselves*, for he never gave them a vote in his life. He made the proposal of the house as a residence for the General of the district, to Mr. Gordon, who told him that he could do nothing without a report from the barrack board. Their report was favourable, and he had a meeting with Mr. Dundas, the Secretary at War, who said that it would be necessary to send a surveyor to examine the premises. Mr. Johnstone, the surveyor to the board, was then sent. He was totally unconnected with Mr. Johnstone, whom he had never seen in his life, and who had his own way in the whole affair. He made a report that 400l. was a fair rent for the house and 20 acres about it. The house was furnished, as he had not removed one article. The house had cost 70,000l. He had received 200l. for repairs and 400l. a year for rent. On the 24th of June, 1804, the bargain was made, but the lease was not signed as General Delancey left the board. The rent was, however, due from that period. As to the letters from one department to another, he had nothing to do with them, and never saw them till they appeared in the report. By the General residing in it, the government would save money. For their repairs he was not obliged to them, as he wished to have the house pulled down. But he had received no atom of compensation for being turned out of doors. On the 18th of August a jury was impanelled—one would think from the report that it was in 1803; but it was in 1804, which made a very material difference. On that occasion he employed the agent that generally acted for the gentlemen in that part of the country. The agent employed counsel; but he had given him no instructions to do so, and knew nothing of it. The jury was one of the most respectable that ever sat, and did not give a rash or hasty

"verdict—for they were locked up three hours before they agreed upon it. They gave a verdict of 1300l. for thirty acres one rood, &c. on which the military works stood. But he would ask, if there was a single word in the verdict that prevented him from living in the house or pulling it down, if he thought proper: and a surveyor had valued the house at 10,000 pounds, which would produce 400l. a-year. Was there any thing that prevented him from letting the house to the Speaker of the House of Commons, to Government, or to any one else? The thirty acres for the military works, had nothing whatever to do with the Barrack Office agreement as to the house and twenty acres. The furniture for such a house was worth a good round sum. This estate was worth above £11,000, and had a suitable house. For this £400 a-year was no adequate compensation. He had been told that the Grand Junction Canal had to go through Lord Essex's Park, and he would be contented with one-fourth of the compensation from Government that Lord Essex received from private individuals. The noble lord over the way (Howick) had said, that he was unfit to sit on the Committee of Finance, on account of the facts that were stated in the Report. This was certainly premature decision. The Military Committee themselves had said that no imputation rested on him. They only said that the Barrack Board had made a negligent bargain for the public; at all events he would not be a moment longer in possession of this lease, and he intreated of his Majesty's Ministers to have a fresh Jury impanelled. He wished to justify himself, and would answer any questions that should be put to him, either at the Bar of the House, in his place, or in a Court of Justice. As he had spoken from memory, some subordinate points might not be accurately stated, but the substance was correct. He concluded by moving for the production of a Memorial which he had given in, to the Commissioners of Military Inquiry.—It is very easy to cry *calumny*, when a man is accused; but, amongst the *anonymous* assailants Sir Henry Mildmay cannot, at any rate, include *me*, who have never in my whole life written and published any thing, except my first pamphlets in America, to which I have not put my name.—I should have been glad to find (and I say this with perfect sincerity) in the speech of Sir Henry Mildmay a complete justification; because his

conduct in Hampshire at the first election, and particularly his bringing forward the petition against the interference of the late ministry, was such as to merit great praise. There is also one circumstance brought out in his speech, which weighs in his favour, namely, that the bill, freeing him from the obligation of residence, did not, in its effect, extend further than the term for which the lands were let to the public. But, I must confess, that this is the only favourable new circumstance that I can perceive.—As to the *report* of the Commissioners of Military inquiry, from what I have seen of other reports, I am disposed always to form my judgement upon the documents on which they are founded; and, that Sir Henry Mildmay may be convinced, that I wish the public to receive, or, at least, to retain, no unjust impression against him, I shall insert the documents here, relative to the Moulsham contract.—The first document has *no date*. It is a something of Sir J. Craig, calling upon two Justices of the peace to apply to the Sheriff to impanel a jury to decide on the compensation which Sir Henry Mildmay was to receive. Now we come to dates. Several months *before* this jury was called, namely on the 15th of May, 1804, (having without waiting for the steps required by the law *voluntarily* given up the land to the commanding officer), Sir H. Mildmay writes to the Quarter Master General, Brownrigg, offering him to let his house, his place of residence, which stood near the ground, occupied by the works, for £400 a year, an act of parliament having previously passed to free him from the obligation of residence. Upon this, Mr. Brownrigg writes to the Secretary at War, by order (no; by *command*; that is the word) of the Duke of York, to take the House upon lease. On the 24th of May a surveyor reports, that £400 a year is a fair price for the House, but that it will require £250 to put it in repair, though in the evidence of Sir Henry Mildmay, he states that he looked upon it as being in perfect repair. On the 11th of June the Secretary at war writes to the then Barrack-Master, General Delancy, stating that Sir Henry Mildmay agrees to give up £200 towards repairs. Thus, then, the *bargain* was concluded in the month of June, 1804, and then Sir Henry knew, that he was to receive £400 a year for the rent of his house and pleasure grounds surrounding it. It was *after* this, on the 6th of August, 1804, that the *Jury* met, with *two counsel* on the part of Sir Henry Mildmay and *no counsel* or *advocate* on the part of the public; and they awarded him 1,300 a year for the first year



and £600 for each succeeding year, for the use of 31 acres of ground, occupied by the military works, taking into consideration that the works had *destroyed his place of residence*. This award seems enormous; for the land must be very good indeed if it was annually worth £2 an acre, that is to say £62 a year. Sir Henry Mildmay says, upon his oath, that the Jury allowed £200 a year for the *use of the land*, and £400 a year to provide him with another place of residence, which was, I think, a pretty hard bargain for the public, and a pretty good one for Sir Henry Mildmay, especially when he had obtained an act of parliament, *at the public expence*, to release him from the obligation of residence in a house standing in need of £250 laid out in repairs; but, what will be said, then, what can be said, for Sir Henry Mildmay, who *received this award*, who accepted of the £400 a year from the public, as a compensation for the loss of his place of residence, after he had, *unknown to the jury*, already bargained with the government to receive £400 for that same place of residence from that same public?—Nothing but proof that the documents are forgeries can possibly alter the state of this case; though there is a further document which adds strength to it.—General Hewett, after he became Barrack Master General, made, as the reader will see, an objection to concluding the lease for the house, stating that it was “incurring a “heavy expence to the public without any “apparent benefit.” But, Mr. Brownrigg, by command of the Duke of York, tells him, that “it was thought necessary “to hire the house to REMUNERATE “Sir Henry Mildmay whose place of “residence had been destroyed by the field “works.” Here, then, we have the trouble compensation in express terms. Mr. Brownrigg says the *House is taken* at £400 a year to remunerate Sir Henry Mildmay for the loss of his place of residence; and Sir Henry Mildmay, upon his oath before the Commissioners, states that the *jury awarded him*, and that he has received £400 to provide him with another place of residence.—Sir Henry Mildmay may complain of *calumnies* as long as he pleases; but, until he can prove these documents to be forgeries, every man, who reads this Register must be convinced, that Sir Henry Mildmay, a member of parliament, a guardian of the public money, has, out of that money, received, knowingly and willingly, payment twice for the same thing.—There was one circumstance, stated in Sir Henry Mildmay's speech, which, at the first glance, I thought somewhat favourable; but, up-

on looking at the *dates* this impression was at once removed. He says *the transaction took place under the administration of Mr. Addington, to whom he never gave a vote in his life; so that if it was a job, it was singular that the ministry should have jolted against themselves*. Now, if this statement had been correct, it would have had great weight with me, as far as related to the motives of the ministers, though no weight at all as far as related to Sir Henry Mildmay's conduct towards the public. But, this statement is not correct; it is not true; but the reverse of truth; for, though land was occupied, and the bill to excuse residence was passed, under the administration of Mr. Addington, the bargain for the House was not made, no, nor did Sir Henry Mildmay make any offer to let the House to the public, nor was he summoned, until that Pitt, *for whom he always voted, came into power, and then, in just one week after that, he made the offer*.

—These *dates* are pestering things. If all the documents had been like that of Sir James Craig, a tolerably plausible story might have been made out, as far as related to the conduct of the ministers.—Now for Mr. Sturges (he has another name, but one is quite enough for me).—This Gentleman was a Secretary of the Treasury, under the second golden reign of Pitt; and, it will be seen by the documents, inserted below, that General Hewett called for £250 to put Sir Henry Mildmay's House in repair, in answer to which call Mr. Sturges signs an order for issuing, from the public money, 643 pounds. In his defence he said, that “he was answerable for any mistake in the letter, “but when he had to sign so many it was “not surprising that a mistake should have “occurred in one, which it was not thought “required any very minute attention. The “letter ought not to have alluded to repairs “at all, and the gentlemen must have “known that the letter admitted of a different construction from what they had “put upon it. Having stated this, he left “it to the house to judge of the fairness of “their proceedings. He would ask the noble lord (H. Petty), whether he had found “that he had ever been apt to make use of “his official situation to serve his friends “particularly? The charge against him was “false, foul, and scandalous, and he had only to say that he had much rather be the “object of it than the author.”—But, how does this prove the charge to be *false, foul, and scandalous*? It might be a mistake; but it *might not*. People will have their different opinions upon that point. All that we can know, upon this subject, is, that,

when £250 at most, *ought* to have been issued for the repairs of Sir Henry Mildmay's house, £643 were ordered to be issued, and we have nothing to make us believe, that that sum *was not* issued, a point upon which no member of parliament recollects to touch, but one which is well worth inquiring into.—So, “it is not surprising,” that mistakes of this sort are made! Then we are in a comfortable way indeed! When we complain, that such enormous sums of the public money are expended upon salaries with scarcely any duty attached to them, “oh,” say our enemies, “but the *responsibility!*” Would you allow nothing for that? And when we discover that the money is wasted in the way now exposed, we are answered by merely saying it was a *mistake*, and that we *ought not to be at all surprised at it*. Surprized at it I am not; but, to be told, that I ought not to be surprised at it, is being a little too bold with my endurance.—Mr. Sturges has complained of the Morning Chronicle for not inserting the speech of Lord Henry Petty, who acquitted him of any blame; but, of what consequence is *this sort* of acquittal? At most it amounts merely to evidence to character; and, of that evidence every man will, of course, form his own opinion.—I do not wish to labour this point against Mr. Sturges. Here are the documents, and I wish to leave the reader to form his own opinion.—N. B. Sir James Craig's paper to the two Justices and the award of Jury are omitted, because the former is of no consequence at all in the consideration, and because the substance of the latter consists wholly in the *date* of it, and in the sum awarded, the rest being a mere mass of verbiage and tautology.

Extract of a Letter from Sir Henry Mildmay, Baronet, to the Quarter Master General; dated Somerset-street, May 15, 1804.

The substance of my proposition is, that the house and stables should be appropriated to the residence of the staff which may reside in that district, and the rent which I annex to the occupation is four hundred pounds a year.—I propose to leave in the house the whole of the furniture (with the exception perhaps of a few trifling articles) which I found there, which was always considered as fully sufficient for the use of the family who previously resided there.—The term which I mean to let it is four years, or five, at the option of either party. I expect to be exempted from all taxes; and as the house is now in perfect repair, I think it reasonable, that, in case any dilapidations should arise, that government should undertake to replace them.

Letter from Major General Brownrigg to Francis Moore, Esq. Dated Horse Guards, 16th May, 1804.

SIR,—I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to request that you will call the attention of the Secretary at War to the following circumstances: A considerable extent of the entrenched camp at Chelmsford passes through Moulsham Park, a residence of Sir Henry Mildmay. This gentleman, by the will of a relation, was bound to residence; but being willing to accommodate the public, he admitted of the works being constructed, and a general authority was given to the Commander in Chief by my Lord Hobart, to hire the house for the accommodation of the general in command, and his staff.—It was found this transaction could not be completed without an act of parliament, to exonerate Sir Henry Mildmay from the penalties attaching to non-residence, according to the will of his relation. A bill has in consequence been carried through both houses, and I am commanded by his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief to request the authority of the Secretary at War to conclude this transaction, by hiring the house and furniture for a period of four years, at the annual rent of four hundred a year, the terms which are specified in the inclosed extract of a letter from Sir Henry Mildmay.—I have it further in command to observe, that, should the lieutenant general commanding in the district judge it expedient to fix his head-quarters at Chelmsford, the amount of his lodgings-money, and that of his staff (which will be saved by his occupying this residence) will be equivalent to the rent paid to Sir Henry Mildmay. But, should it be occupied by a major general, some unavoidable expence must annually accrue to the public.—I have, &c.—(Signed) ROB. BROWN-RIGG, Q. M. Gl.

Letter from James Johnson, Esq. to Lieut-General De Lancey. Dated Barrack Office, 24th May, 1804.

SIR,—In obedience to your orders I proceeded to Moulsham, near Chelmsford, in Essex, the seat of Sir Henry Saint John Mildmay, Baronet; inclosed I transmit you the plans and particulars of the said premises.—The mansion is strong and well built; the roof is covered principally with patent slates, that continually let in the wet, of course it is a business that should be kept in repair by Sir Henry, as it is owing to the construction, and cannot be remedied; great part of the wood-work inside and out the house require painting; paving in the area

center of the house requires re-laying, and making good; stone steps should be re-set, and made good with new; great part of the wood-work in basement story, such as floors, joists, skirting, &c. require immediate repairs, being rotted by damps; brick-work outside of house, garden walls, doors, door-cases, require repairs.—Stable building: roof very bad, brick-work to external walls require making good, and settlements secured; floors in hay loft, and servants sleeping rooms very bad; it rains in in several places.—The mansion is in general furnished, which may be more fully explained by inventory from Sir Henry Mildmay.—To put the house and offices into tenantable repair will cost the sum of two hundred and fifty pounds; the annual amount after will not exceed fifty pounds to keep them in repair. The taxes are supposed to amount to one hundred and forty-three pounds. If the said premises are put in proper repair, and to include the twenty acres of pleasure ground, &c. round the house, as described on the general plan, I am of opinion, four hundred pounds per annum is a fair rent to give for the same, after Sir Henry has put the premises in repair.—I have, &c.—JAS. JOHNSON, Arch^t.

Letter from the Right Hon. Wm. Dundas to Lieut. General De Lancey. Dated War Office, 11th June, 1804.

SIR,—Having communicated to Sir Henry Mildmay the report of Mr. Johnston, transmitted in Lieutenant Colonel Gordon's letter of the 29th ultimo, and Sir Henry Mildmay having offered to relinquish half a year's rent (£200) on condition that the repairs pointed out by Mr. Johnston should be executed at the expence of the public, I have thought it right to accede to this proposal, and am to desire that you will accordingly enter into an agreement with Sir Henry Mildmay, for the hire of the premises of Moulsham Hall for four years, charging the rent, taxes, and repairs thereof, in your accompts, and availing yourself, for the use of the public, of the advantage (if any) that may arise from the possession of the land attached to the said premises.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant, W. DUNDAS.

Letter from Lieut. General Hewett to Major General Brownrigg. Dated Barrack Office, 27th Nov. 1804.

SIR,—The expences which will attend the taking of Sir H. Mildmay's house amounting to a sum beyond the latitude given by the Treasury to the present Barrack Master General, I am induced, previous to my transmitting it for approval, to observe, for his Royal Highness's consideration, that

the situation and extensive scale on which it is constructed, as well as the length of time which has elapsed since it was inhabited, render it, as a matter of choice, very unfit for any officer to inhabit, in preference to hired accommodations in the town of Chelmsford; and as the annual expence will amount to six hundred and forty-three pounds, as per inclosed estimate, exclusive of two hundred and fifty pounds for immediate repair, and as the house cannot be applied to other purposes, *I should not consider myself justified in proposing the incurring so great an expence, without any apparent benefit to the public.*—You will observe the authority for taking this house was dated last June, and might have been completed under the authority of the late Barrack Master General; that the delay has not arisen from me, but, perhaps, from a change of opinion on the part of his Royal Highness, on the grounds I have stated.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,—
(Signed) G. H.

Estimate of Sir H. Mildmay's House.

Rent	- - -	£400 0 0	per ann.
Taxes	- - -	143 0 0	
Officer of the Barrack			
Department in charge			
of the House	- -	50 0 0	
Annual Repairs	- -	50 0 0	
		£643 0 0	
		—	—

Immediate repairs required to make the Premises habitable, and to be executed by the Barrack Department } 250 0 0

Letter from Major General Brownrigg to the Barrack Master General. Dated, Horse Guards, 23d Jan. 1805.

SIR,—I have it in command from his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to desire that the premises hired from Sir Henry Mildmay, near Chelmsford, *may be put in a state of repair*, to be occupied by the general and staff officers attached to the troops at that station.—These repairs, as stated in your communication on this subject, will amount to two hundred and fifty pounds.—I am further commanded to observe, as you remark upon the expence of these premises being disproportional to the public utility which may be derived from them; that the agreement entered into by the late Barrack Master General was sanctioned on account of its being *necessary to hire these premises*, and in doing so, to remunerate Sir Henry Mildmay, whose resi-

dence had been destroyed by the field works which had been constructed in the immediate vicinity of the house.—You will be pleased to direct a report to be made to Lieut. General Sir James Craig, when the building is in readiness to receive the officers he may direct to inhabit it.—I have the honour to be, &c. &c.—ROBERT BROWN-RIGG, Qr. Master Gen.

Letter from the Barrack Master General to William Huskisson, Esq. Dated, Barrack Office, 13th Feb. 1805.

SIR,—Inclosed is the copy of a letter from the Quarter Master General, notifying to me the commands of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to put in a state of repair the premises hired from Sir Henry Mildmay near Chelmsford, to be occupied by the general and staff officers attached to the troops at that station; but as the lease of the said premises was not signed by the late Barrack Master General, although possession was taken by placing a person in charge thereof, and the repairs, mentioned in Major Gen. Brownrigg's letter, executed, amounting to *two hundred and fifty pounds*, I have the honour, in conformity to the Treasury minute of the 6th Nov. (which precludes me from incurring any expence exceeding *five hundred pounds*, without the previous sanction of the lords commissioners) to request their lordships approval to complete the lease in question.—For their lordships further information, an estimate of the expence is herewith transmitted.

Letter from William Sturges Bourne, Esq. to the Barrack Master General. Dated, Treasury Chambers, Feb. 26, 1805.

SIR,—Having laid before the Lords Commissioners of his Majesty's Treasury your letter, transmitting a copy of one from the Quarter Master General, notifying to him the commands of his Royal Highness the Commander in Chief, to put in a state of repair the premises hired from Sir Henry Mildmay, near Chelmsford, to be occupied by the general and staff officers attached to the troops at that station, and inclosing an estimate of the expences thereof, amounting to *six hundred and forty-three pounds*, and also requesting the approval of this board to complete the lease in question; I have received their lordships commands to authorise you to pay the said sum, and to complete the lease accordingly.—I am, &c.—W. STURGES BOURNE.

Examination of Sir Henry Paulet St. John Mildmay, Bart.; taken upon Oath, the 28th April, 1806.

We have learned that a military work has been carried through your park at Moulsham, near Chelmsford; state under

what authority was this done, what quantity of land the work occupies, and when it began?—A. The land was taken under the authority of the Defence Act; the quantity now occupied is, I think, about thirty-two acres; it was originally only twenty-nine; the work began about the year 1803.—

Q. 2. What compensation have you received, or are you to receive, on account of this work being carried through your park?—A. A jury was impanelled, who made an award to me of one thousand three hundred pounds for the first year, and six hundred a year so long as the land should continue in the occupation of government; and that government, when they ceased to occupy the land, should restore it to its original state. I have understood, that the jury gave two hundred pounds per annum for the occupation of the land, and four hundred pounds per annum to provide me with another place of residence. The two hundred pounds a year is actually paid by me to my tenants.—

Q. 3. Have you still the right to the feed of the land so occupied?—A. It is a complete occupation on the part of government.—

Q. 4. Was the offer originally made by you to any public authority, to take your house at Moulsham, or was an application made to you for it?—A. I made the offer, I think, to the then Deputy Barrack Master General.—

Q. 5. What was the reason of your making the offer?—A. From my having resided a good deal in Essex, I had seen the difficulty the different generals on the staff had of procuring residences, and, in consequence of repeated applications to me for the house from different general officers quartered at Chelmsford, I made the offer of it. Upon my making the offer to the then Deputy Barrack Master General, I was informed, that nothing could be done without a survey and report to him: some time afterwards I heard that a report had been made to him, and, in consequence of it, I was referred to General Brownrigg, and the Secretary at War, who treated with me for the house and premises.—

Q. 6. Was this your usual residence whilst in the country?—A. I was bound to reside there, by will, three months in the year, till relieved by an act of parliament, procured at the expence of government, in consequence of the works erected near it, as already stated.—

Q. 7. Is the land let with the house, stated to amount to near twenty acres, mere pleasure ground, or can it be applied to any useful purpose, consistent with the terms of the lease granted by you?—A. It is partly pleasure ground; but there is a large garden, partly inclosed, of about two acres, which I have no doubt would let for about eighteen pounds a year,

including the gardener's house; besides which, there are about fourteen acres of very good pasture land, on which I have fatted sheep. The shrubbery consists of about two acres.—Q. 8. What will be the annual expence of keeping this shrubbery in proper order?—A. For perhaps half of what the garden might let for.—Q. 9. From whom do you receive the rent for the land occupied by the military work; and from whom for the house and premises?—A. For the land, from the Receiver General of the County of Essex; and for the house, from the Barrack Office.—Q. 10. Were any considerable repairs wanting to make the house habitable?—A. The house wanted painting; but I cannot conceive that it wanted any considerable repairs, as three or four years before I had entirely new covered it.—Sir Henry Mildmay having attended the same day to sign his examination, desired to add to his answer, No. 5, that the house was let furnished. H. P. S. MILDMAY.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

TURKEY AND RUSSIA.—*Manifesto of the Porte against Russia.*

(Concluded from Vol. XI. p. 1140.)

When the Porte, with great propriety, requested of the Russian Minister at Constantinople, that these proceedings should be desisted from, an evasive answer was always returned, and no disposition whatever was shewn to make a becoming reparation.—The Conduct of the Court of Russia seems always to have been actuated by a spirit totally contrary to the terms on which she had allied herself to the Porte. Both empires had agreed that Russia had no superior control over the Republic of the Seven Islands, which had acknowledged the sovereignty of the Sublime Porte. Each power had given that Republic a guarantee. When circumstances required troops to be marched into these territories, both the allied powers were to furnish them jointly, and the constitution of the Republic was fully established, acknowledged and approved of by both powers. Notwithstanding this convention, the Russian Court sent as many troops as they pleased to these Islands; a constitution was framed at St. Petersburgh, and transmitted to this republic, the offices in which were filled up by Russia, as if it were a country which lawfully belonged to her. Besides all this, these Islands were made a receptacle for the Turkish subjects from Romelia, who were either secretly or publicly seduced from their allegiance; and protection has been thus held out to traitors of every description. Not satisfied with this, there was no intrigue which was not

resorted to against the ministers of the Sublime Porte in these islands, and particularly against his Excellency Ali Pacha of Janina.—The Sublime Porte has resolved to observe the most conscientious neutrality towards the powers of Europe now at war; and the Russian court, which observed none of the rules of neutrality, and also sought to destroy that of the Porte, abused the privilege allowed her of sending her ships through the Black Sea for the use of the Seven Islands alone. The Russians, by means of their emissaries, secretly collected troops in Albania, and transmitted them, by means of the above privilege of navigation, to Italy, without the knowledge of the Porte.—Russia seemed determined to disturb the peace of mankind, when she excited, by means of her emissaries, an insurrection at Montenegro, when she marched troops into the very heart of the Turkish capital, and committed a variety of other acts tending to provoke hostilities.—With the same views, Russia published patents in the Provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia, and appropriated to herself inhabitants without number, under various pretended titles. She treated both these provinces as if they were her own possessions: her consuls took a share in their administration: she pestered with constant complaints and hostile demonstrations the Hospodars who had been named by the Porte, and who did not fulfil her wishes, and openly protected all such as testified an adherence to Russia; so that the nomination by the Porte of the Hospodars of these two provinces became an object of derision.—Although every item of this conduct of Russia might be a justifiable ground for a declaration of war, yet the Sublime Porte always evinced the utmost patience, not because she thought herself weak or incapable, but because she wished to conduct herself in the most friendly manner in respect to the subjects of both empires, and was anxious to avoid the shedding of human blood. We shall here give an example of this.—The Sublime Porte lately dismissed the two Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, in consequence of existing circumstances. The Russian government took offence that they were not consulted, and presumed to oppose this arrangement. Any longer indulgence to the traitorous Hospodar of Wallachia, whose perfidy had been sufficiently evinced on many occasions, would have been highly detrimental to the Porte, and if Russia had been apprized of his intended dismissal, the intelligence would have reached that Hospodar, which would have occasioned a great deal of confusion; on which account Russia was not informed until he was actually dismissed. Some

time afterwards, the Russian minister at Constantinople made a requisition to the Porte on behalf of his government, that these Hospodars should be restored, and he was commanded, in the event of a refusal, to leave Constantinople with all his suite, as he asserted in all his communications. He afterwards declared that his government did not seize this as a pretext to display the hostile designs imputed to it; but added, that the restoration of the Hospodars was the sole and true object of his government; and that if the Porte consented to it, all misunderstandings between the two courts would cease; and that as he was commanded to communicate the result of this negotiation to the frontiers, he would immediately write on the subject. The Sublime Porte saw from this official declaration, that the Russian court sought a pretext for declaring war, and it was obvious from her unjustifiable and narrow-minded arrogance, that her object was to blame the Porte with the display of those hostile intentions which she herself cherished. The Porte consented, though contrary to its interest, to restore the two Hospodars, in order that the Russian government might have no cause for complaint to the other powers of Europe.—It was for a while believed that Russia, ashamed of her conduct, had desisted from all intention of making war upon the Porte. Two months and a half thus elapsed without suspicions, when, at the very moment that every thing bespoke peace and friendship, Russian troops appeared on the Turkish frontier; while the inhabitants, as well as the Governors of Choczim and Bender, considered themselves in full security in consequence of the alliance subsisting between the two empires. The commanders of the Russian troops abused the confidence thus reposed in them as friends, and after practising every species of artifice, possessed themselves of these two fortresses, contrary to the law of nations, as respected by every civilized power.—The Sublime Porte, which had not been apprized of this invasion, required a declaration on the subject from the Russian minister at Constantinople: the latter repeatedly declared that he had written to his court of the restoration of the Hospodars, as well as that of the Russian consuls on the Dniester, by virtue of the dispatches he had received on these subjects; and that the recent advance of those troops was no consequence of the above proceedings; so far as he was concerned himself, he knew of no ground or any rupture, and his court had made no communication to him on the subject. As the Sublime Porte received the intelligence quite unex-

pectedly of the hostilities of the Russians, by their occupation of the above fortresses, and the usurpation of the Turkish cities, they might have removed the Russian minister immediately from the capital; and although it would have been but fair to resort to usurpation against usurpation, yet the Sublime Porte, which had always evinced so much lenity, was unwilling that individuals should suffer from the inconvenience of war and therefore allowed the Russian minister a certain time in order to obtain from his court a declaration on the subject of these proceedings. The Ottoman Porte acted in this manner with the view of giving the court of Russia an opportunity of acting with seeming consistency in the eyes of other powers, and thinking she would, for shame sake, at last respect the laws of nations.—But after waiting 30 days from the commencement of hostilities, no answer was obtained from the Russian minister, except assurances that he had received no declaration from his court on the subject; and as the patience of the Porte was nearly exhausted, it would have been dangerous and detrimental to have granted any farther delay. On the other hand, General Michelson had sent inflammatory proclamations to the judges and governors of Romelia, in order to seduce the Mussulmen, and to sow discord in the cities of the empire.—To conclude, the disgraceful conduct of Russia to the Ottoman court is without example, and will never be imitated perhaps by any other power. As the hostilities of the Russians have now openly commenced, every Mussulman is bound, by his religion and the law of nations, to take vengeance on these perfidious enemies, against whom it has become necessary solemnly to declare war. The Sublime Porte places its whole confidence on the Almighty and avenging God; and in order to check the career of the enemy, it has become necessary to make exertions both by sea and land, to organize all our forces, and to act with energy and vigour. The Sublime Porte has therefore declared war, because its extraordinary lenity has only tended to increase the arrogance and usurpations of Russia.—As the Sublime Porte has done every thing to conciliate, the Russian court will be answerable for the blood which must be shed, and the miseries which must befall mankind; and until the latter court is taught to respect her treaties and alliances, the impossibility of placing any confidence in her must be allowed by all nations who are guided by lenity and candour.—Although the above motives for going to war are the result of transactions openly acknowledged by

the whole world, and it may not be thought necessary to make any declaration on the subject; yet, in order to conform to diplomatic etiquette, the present Manifesto is hereby communicated to all the Foreign Ministers at Constantinople, in order that they may transmit it to their respective courts. Given at Constantinople, the 25th of the month Chevoal, in the year of Hegira 1221 (5th January, 1807.)

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPER.

KING'S SPEECH.—*On Monday the 22d of June, 1807, the two Houses of Parliament having met, the Session was opened by Commission, and on Friday the 26th the following Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,—We have it in command from his Majesty to state to you, that having deemed it expedient to recur to the sense of his people, his Majesty, in conformity to his declared intention, has lost no time in causing the present parliament to be assembled.—His Majesty has great satisfaction in acquainting you, that since the events which led to the dissolution of the last parliament, his Majesty has received, in numerous addresses from his subjects, the warmest assurances of their affectionate attachment to his person and government, and of their firm resolution to support him, in maintaining the just rights of his crown, and the true principles of the constitution; and he commands us to express his entire confidence that he shall experience in all your deliberations a determination to afford him an equally loyal, zealous, and affectionate support, under all the arduous circumstances of the present time.—We are commanded by his Majesty to inform you, that his Majesty's endeavours have been most anxiously employed for the purpose of drawing closer the ties by which his Majesty is connected with the powers of the continent; of assisting the efforts of those powers against the ambition and oppression of France; of forming such engagements as may ensure their continued co-operation; and of establishing that mutual confidence and concert so essential under any course of events to the restoration of a solid and permanent peace in Europe.—It would have afforded his Majesty the greatest pleasure to have been enabled to inform you, that the mediation undertaken by his Majesty for the purpose of preserving peace between his Majesty's ally, the Emperor of Russia, and the Sublime Porte, had proved effectual for that important object; his Majesty deeply re-

grets the failure of that mediation, accompanied as it was by the disappointment of the efforts of his Majesty's squadron in the Sea of Marmora, and followed as it has since been by the losses which have been sustained by his gallant troops in Egypt.—His Majesty could not but lament the extension of hostilities in any quarter, which should create a diversion in the war so favourable to the views of France; but lamenting it especially in the instance of a power with which his Majesty has been so closely connected, and which has been so recently indebted for its protection against the encroachments of France, to the signal and successful interposition of his Majesty's arms.—His Majesty has directed us to acquaint you, that he has thought it right to adopt such measures as might best enable him, in concert with the Emperor of Russia, to take advantage of any favourable opportunity for bringing the hostilities in which they are engaged against the Sublime Porte to a conclusion, consistent with his Majesty's honour and the interests of his ally.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—His Majesty has ordered the estimates of the current year to be laid before you, and he relies on the tried loyalty and zeal of his faithful Commons to make such provision for the public service, as well as for the further application of the sums which were granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.—And his Majesty bearing constantly in mind the necessity of a careful and economical administration of the pecuniary resources of the country, has directed us to express his hopes that you will proceed without delay in the pursuit of those enquiries, connected with the public economy, which engaged the attention of the last parliament.

My Lords and Gentlemen,—His Majesty commands us to state to you, that he is deeply impressed with the peculiar importance, at the present moment, of cherishing a spirit of union and harmony amongst his people: such a spirit will most effectually promote the prosperity of the country at home, give vigour and efficacy to its councils, and its arms abroad; and can alone enable his Majesty, under the blessing of Providence, to carry on successfully the great contest in which he is engaged, or finally to conduct it to that termination which his Majesty's moderation and justice have ever led him to seek—a peace, in which the honour and interests of his kingdom can be secure, and in which Europe and the world may hope for independence and repose.